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CIRCULATE AS MONOGRAPH



THE PLACE OF HOSEA i.-iii.
IN
HEBREW LITERATURE.

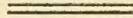
A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
OF TORONTO FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.



BY
AUSTIN P. MISENER, M.A., B.D.

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TO THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

We, the undersigned, professors in the department of Oriental Languages in the University of Toronto, hereby certify that, in our opinion, the thesis presented by Austin Perley Misener, on the subject of "The Place of Hosea i.-iii. in Hebrew Literature," is a distinct contribution to the knowledge of the subject, and recommend that it be accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in this University.

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May 29, 1909.

I hereby certify that the thesis above mentioned has been accepted by the Senate of the University of Toronto for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in accordance with the terms of the statute in that behalf.

JAMES BREBNER,

Registrar.

The University of Toronto,
June 9, 1909.

OUTLINE.

I.

A statement of the usual interpretation of Hosea I.-III., and an indication of certain facts which render this interpretation improbable, pp. 5-14.

II.

A comparison of these chapters with other prophetic books, especially Ezekiel, pp. 14-32.

III.

Indications which the results of the comparative study afford as to the probable origin of the chapters, pp. 32-46.

IV.

Effect upon the interpretation of the book of Hosea as a whole, pp. 46-51.

I.

The book of Hosea has two divisions, chs. i-iii. and chs. iv.-xiv. The first part is generally regarded as an introduction to his prophecies, prepared by the prophet himself, as an explanation of his call to preach and an exposition of his idea of the relation of Israel to Jehovah, while the second part contains the discourses which he uttered from time to time, put together without reference to chronology or logical relationship. It is thought that Hosea (as contrasted with Amos and Isaiah), placed the account of the call at the beginning, because he thought it necessary to a proper understanding of the prophecies which follow. It is with the first division of the book that this investigation deals. The purpose of the investigation is two-fold: (1) to point out certain significant similarities which those introductory chapters bear to parts of other later prophetic books, especially Ezekiel; and (2) to indicate the probable origin of the chapters, as suggested by the results of this comparative study. I first offer a summary of the contents of the three chapters, and what may be called the prevailing interpretation of the narrative.¹

In ch. i. 2-9 we read that Hosea married a profligate wife, Gomer the daughter of Diblaim, and that the prophet looked upon this marriage as in accordance with a divine command. Gomer becomes the mother of three children, to whom the prophet gives symbolical names illustrative of the divine purpose towards Israel. This purpose is expounded in connection with the naming of each child. The first is called Jezreel ('Jehovah scatters'), in anticipation of the vengeance which will be exacted of the house of Jehu on the very spot where the latter had massacred the house of Ahab (2 K. x. 11). The names Lo-ruhamah ('un-pitied') and Lo-ammi ('not-my-people') are given the next two children as tokens of Jehovah's rejection of Israel. In ch.

¹The chapter and verse division employed is that of the Hebrew, not the English.

ii. 1-3 (English i. 10-ii. 1) the rejection indicated by the names of the last two children is regarded as not final. A promise is here given that Judah and Israel shall again be united and restored to Jehovah's favor. Jezreel, which was before the scene of defeat (i. 5), will then become the scene of an ideal victory, when the nation returns from exile and re-conquers Palestine. The members of the nation will at that time be invited to resume the title which had been taken away from them, and to greet one another in terms which imply that they have been fully restored to Jehovah's favor (ii. 3). The remainder of ch. ii. portrays: (1) the faithlessness of Israel to Jehovah in forsaking Him for the Baalim, the long-suffering of God, the moral discipline of sorrow and tribulation by which He will punish her, vv. 4-15; (2) the restoration of Israel to the divine favor and the bestowal upon her of fresh marks of confidence and love at the hands of her divine husband, vv. 16-25. All this is depicted under the figure of a marriage relation between a husband and an erring wife, the allegory being suggested by the prophet's marriage with Gomer, but the details worked out independently, under a rich multiplicity of figures obtained from other sources. In ch. iii. Hosea appears again, and we have a continuation of the narrative of the personal experiences of the prophet begun in ch. i. Ch. iii. is taken to indicate that Hosea's faithless wife had at length left him, or had been put away by him, and had fallen, under circumstances of which the details are not given, into a state of misery (probably had become the slave-concubine of another man), from which Hosea, who had still followed her with tender affection, brought her back and restored her to his house. Here he kept her in seclusion, not admitting her to the privileges of a wife. In this last action, just as when he first took her as his wife, the prophet sees a fulfilment of the will of God, vv. 1-3. In these personal experiences Hosea again sees a parallel to Jehovah's long-suffering love to Israel and "the discipline by which the people shall be brought back to God, through a period in which all their political and religious institutions are overthrown," v. 4. This picture is again completed by a promise of return from dispersion to the happy fatherland, v. 5.

It thus appears that throughout these chapters there is an interweaving of personal narrative and prophetic allegory, and a rapidity of change from the one to the other, which at times becomes rather puzzling to the reader. Despite this quick transition, however, two or three general facts are thought to be indicated: (1) that i. 2-9 and iii. 1-4 contain the story, told by the prophet himself in simple and brief form, of his own family experience, and narrated for the purpose of making known how he came to receive his call to the prophetic office, and of supplying a key for the understanding of his message; (2) that in ii. 4-15 the prophet states the meaning which he attaches to the narrative in its explanation of Israel's situation. As regards the domestic experience, it is not supposed that Hosea knowingly married a woman of profligate character, but that her infidelity developed after marriage. This is said to be indicated by the term **אִשֶּׁת זְנוּנִים** ('wife of whoredoms'), which is not the same as **זִנָּה** (the open 'prostitute'). That is to say, Gomer, who was chaste at the time of her marriage, had in her a "tendency to impurity which later manifested itself."¹ The point of this personal experience is thought to be that of infidelity after marriage, as a parallel to Israel's departure from the covenant God. The marriage was marred by Gomer's unfaithfulness; and the struggle of Hosea's affection for his wife with this great unhappiness, furnished him with a new insight into Jehovah's dealings with Israel. He recognized that the great calamity of his life was God's own ordinance and appointed means to communicate to him a deep prophetic lesson. Based upon this experience of a deep human affection in contest with outraged honor and wilful self-degradation of a wife, the prophet develops the conception of Israel as the spouse of Jehovah, and fills it with a new and profound meaning.

This explanation of the narrative of these chapters has commended itself to a number of recent expositors, as: Robertson

¹ Harper—International Critical Commentary, Amos and Hosea, p. 207.

Smith,¹ Wellhausen,² Nowack,³ Davidson,⁴ Driver,⁵ Cheyne⁶ and Harper.⁷ Orelli held substantially the same view, but with the qualification that in ch. iii. 2 another wife is spoken of. Marti also favors this explanation in his article in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, but with the reservation that there may be some truth in Volz's⁸ suggestion that ch. iii. is an allegorical narrative added to ch. i. at a later date. This latter view he adopts and elaborates in his commentary on the Minor Prophets.⁹ According to this view, "Hosea iii. is a later addition, and is intended as an allegory referring to Israel, Hosea's own words, especially ch. i., having been taken as referring to Judah. In the mind of the redactor Hosea i.-iii. was a companion picture to Ezek. xxiii., and if so we shall then have to say that Hosea had two wives,—one literal, viz., Gomer (= Judah), one allegorical (ch. iii. = Israel)." This opinion of Marti led to the investigation which follows, the results of which seem to suggest an interpretation of the narrative differing both from the one just outlined and that offered by Marti.

Before proceeding to examine the generally accepted interpretation of these chapters, it is necessary to call attention to a certain characteristic of the book as a whole, examples of which are furnished in the chapters to be investigated. Most modern scholars, who have critically examined this book, find that in certain cases verses or parts of verses, and in other cases whole sections, are interpolations. The integrity of the book was first

¹Prophets of Israel.

²Die Kleinen Propheten.

³Die Kleinen Propheten.

⁴Hasting's Dict. of the Bible.

⁵Introd. to the Literature of the O. T.

⁶Camb. Bible, Hosea.

⁷Intern. Crit. Com., Amos and Hosea.

⁸Die Ehegeschichte Hoseas, in ZWT '98, pp. 321-335.

⁹Dodekapropheton, in Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T.

NOTE.—Further references to these expositors will indicate these works, unless otherwise stated.

called in question by Stuck,¹ who regarded ix. 7-9 as displaced. Redslob² rejected iv. 6, 7, and vii. 4-10; Grätz³ made chs. iv.-xiv. late; while Stade⁴ prepared the way for Cornill,⁵ Wellhausen, Cheyne, Nowack, Marti, Davidson, and Harper. Amongst these interpreters there is, of course, diversity of opinion as to how far this process of interpolation extends, but they are pretty generally agreed that, apart from the minor and casual interpolations of phrases and sentences of a "technical, archæological, or historical character," which have been inserted "by way of expansion and explanation," these secondary elements of the book fall into two distinct categories: (1) In the first place there are a number of passages throughout the book which refer to Judah. As no good reason can be found to account for their Hoseanic origin, it seems probable to these scholars that they are the work of a later Judaistic editor, who sought to relate Hosea's prophecies to the southern kingdom, and thus to "supply a painfully felt omission." In a great many cases these references to Judah contain phrases which are late, or which interfere with the prevailing rhythmic structure. In some of these passages the word "Judah" was manifestly substituted for "Israel" or "Ephraim" of the original. Harper accounts for these Judaistic references by supposing that after Hosea's threats had been fulfilled in the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.), his book would naturally be given great prominence in Judah, and that in some post-exilic time it was worked over in a kind of "Judaistic revision." In the chapters to be investigated i. 7 is one of these verses, and it seems to have been inserted with reference to the deliverance from Sennacherib. (2) Then there are a number of passages which interrupt or round-off Hosea's predictions of judgment with promises of a time of final blessedness—the so-called "Messianic allusions." Of this nature are ii. 1-3, 16-25; iii. 5; and it seems difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the picture

¹Hoseas Propheta (1828).

²Die Integrität der Stelle Ho. vii. 4-10 in Frage gestellt (1842).

³Geschichte der Juden (1853).

⁴Geschichte des Volkes Israel (1887-89).

⁵Einleitung in das Alte Testament (1891).

of Israel's future contained in them with Hosea's situation, or his general representation of the future of his nation, for he plainly represents Israel's ruin as close at hand, and it is apparently an irretrievable disaster which is threatened (xiii. 9). These passages too, have characteristically late marks about them, and seem to come from a later age, in which the opinion prevailed that every prophet must have foreseen this happy future time. These Messianic allusions are therefore, for the most part, regarded by these expositors as late, and are thought to have been inserted in the book by some later editor, who saw a more fully developed thought in these earlier prophets than was really there. Harper thinks they came from the time following Ezekiel and the Deutero-Isaiah, and that they are still later than the Judaistic references.

If this general critical opinion be substantially correct, we have in the book of Hosea, beside his own narrative of the personal experience which formed the basis of his call and the sermons he preached, two classes of interpolations which have greatly modified the character and function of the book. This is, in essence, the view which most modern interpreters hold of the book as we now have it.

It will now be a helpful preliminary to the proposed comparative study, to investigate ch. iii., in order to ascertain how far its contents support the usual interpretation of chs. i.-iii.

There are a number of features about the third chapter which make it doubtful, if not quite improbable, that the woman referred to is the Gomer of ch. i. In the first place, and in general, if ch. iii. be a continuation of the prophet's story begun in ch. i., it is appended quite loosely, and only the reader's imagination can supply the missing links between the times when Hosea's wife left him, or he put her away, and when he bought her back from slave concubinage. In the narrative there are no historical data concerning her treatment. How did she come into the situation in which ch. iii. finds her? Did she forsake her husband, or did he drive her from his house? Such important elements would scarcely be left to conjecture, especially when the first part of the narrative is so explicit. But more

particularly, the terms used in the command given to Hosea in iii. 1 point to another woman. The words "again go" naturally indicate a second experience similar to the first, and it is only by reading into them a meaning which they do not of themselves suggest, that they are made to refer to Gomer. Further, if this is the wife of ch. i., in order that there be no mistake, why is the identification not established by the use of the article before the word אִשָּׁה, when the employment of such a simple expedient would have removed all ambiguity? Harper's explanation that this is an example of "indeterminateness for the sake of amplitude" (viz. = "such a woman"),¹ is scarcely satisfactory. Then, it is only by reading into the transaction of v. 2 a meaning which the words do not of themselves convey, that it can be made to apply to Gomer. Those who accept the usual interpretation admit that this point in the transaction is inexplicable, and that "we may only guess why the purchase was necessary." Several explanations have been suggested. Those who maintain that the divorced Gomer had become another's wife, suggest that the law (Dt. xxiv. 1-4) in such a case, which made it impossible for her to return to her former husband, was not then in existence, (so apparently Nowack). Cheyne suggests that the whole proceeding is exceptional, and that a price is paid merely to avoid altercation with the man with whom she has been living. The view which has met with most favor is that Gomer had actually become the slave-concubine of some man, and that the price paid here is the price of a slave. In support of this it has been urged that the price indicated is 30 shekels, and that this is the estimated value of a slave in Ex. xxi. 32. But this theory rests upon a very uncertain foundation, for the text at this point is suspicious; and even taking it as it is here, there are a number of uncertainties.

In the first place we have no sure knowledge concerning the לֶחֶק ('lethek'). The word does not occur elsewhere, and all that we can be sure of is that it was a measure of some kind. We have only the tradition of the Mishnah for assuming that it

¹Harper, p. 224.

was equal to a-half הֶמֶר ('homer'). Then, in order to make the price equivalent to that of a slave, more conjecture has been necessary. The piece of money here referred to is presumably the shekel. With this as a basis the calculation is made as follows: a 'homer' = 10 'ephahs' = 30 'seahs.' A 'seah' of barley, according to 2 Ki. vii. 18, was worth one-half a shekel; but this was at the close of a siege. Therefore we must suppose it to be here worth about one-third of a shekel. Hence the total sum paid for Gomer was 15 shekels (the "15 pieces of silver") + 15 shekels (45 'seahs' of barley at one-third of a shekel each) = 30 shekels; and this was the price of a slave.¹ But all this makes too heavy demands upon the imagination, and does not remove the ambiguity from the transaction. Then, there is the apparent uselessness of the repetition of the word שְׁעָרִים ('barley'); and finally, the lack of any explanation of the payment partly in money and partly in grain. So uncertain therefore, is the text at this point, that some scholars regard the greater part of the verse as suspicious. If Sievers² metrical scheme is correct all the words after לִי וְאֶכְרֶה should be elided.

But even if the text be correct, there is no indication that this transaction is that of buying back a slave-concubine. It is much more natural to regard the price named as the dowry which a husband pays for his bride—a well recognized custom among the Jews. And furthermore, in the view that this woman is Gomer, who has been bought back by Hosea, it is assumed that such a procedure would be possible, whereas, in view of the stringent law (Dt. xxiv. 1-4) regarding this matter, this seems very doubtful. One would have to suppose that this law was not in force in Hosea's time. For these reasons it seems quite improbable that the woman referred to in ch. iii. is the Gomer of ch. i., and the way is open for some other interpretation of the narrative which will better explain the facts.³

¹Harper p. 219.

²Alttestamentliche Miscellen 4 und 5 p. 170.

³In the opinion of the following scholars the woman here referred to is not Gomer: Schmidt, Bauer, Manger, Eichhorn, Newcome, Keil, Orelli, Seesemann, Volz, and Marti.

The doubt, which a critical examination thus throws upon the usual interpretation of this chapter, lends some support to the opinion first advanced by Volz, and later supported by Marti, that ch. iii. is to be taken as a later allegorical extension of ch. i. I here present, without comment, a summary of the reasons which Volz advanced for this opinion, as a starting-point for the investigation of ch. ii. : (1) In this chapter the first person is used rather than the third. (This would indicate the isolation of the chapter.) (2) In ch. i. the personal experience is the important matter, Gomer and the children being omens for the understanding of the present and the future, while in ch. iii. the emphasis is upon the exhibition of Israel's fate, and the narrative (*i.e.* of the personal experience) seems to be an imitation or copy of this. Cf. the **אָהַב כְּאַהֲבַת יְהוָה כּ** in **יָמִים רַבִּים** (vv. 3 and 4). With this is coupled the fact that no name here appears for the woman, to indicate whether it is now Gomer or another. (3) The representation is not careful or exact, as is often the case in such secondary sections. For example, in Jehovah's speech (v. 1), there appears the expression **יָהוָה אֶהְיֶה** instead of **אֶהְיֶה**, as one would expect; and again, v. 4 follows v. 3 just as if it were a continuation of the prophet's address to his wife. (4) In iii. 1 the Israelites are said to have turned to "other gods," while elsewhere Hosea speaks only of images of Jehovah set up at local shrines. He never accredits these images with real existence as gods—they are merely Canaanitish 'Jahwebilder,' made of wood or stone. Moreover, this very frequently used expression "other gods," is, with the exception of a very few passages, used only in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, and in passages dependent on Deuteronomy. (5) In i. 2 and in ii. the marriage relation is between Jehovah and the land, but in iii. 1 between Jehovah and the "sons of Israel"; Hosea might have learned to substitute "Israel" for "land," but not "sons of Israel"; the latter involves such a weakening of the figure as is scarcely possible in the imagination of one man. (6) Chap. iii. represents Hosea as arriving at the thought of Jehovah's love for wicked Israel; if he had done so, this thought

must have ruled his later utterances ; but on the contrary no such thought appears ; the opposite feeling is rather dominant (*cf.* ix. 15-17 ; xiii. 14).

II.

With this view of the origin of ch. iii. before us, we may now proceed to examine the narrative which precedes it, leaving the detailed examination of the remaining verses of this chapter until that investigation has been made. The reasons that have been given for regarding the woman mentioned in ch. iii. as some other than Gomer, together with Volz's opinion that the chapter is a later allegory, and Marti's suggestion that "in the mind of the redactor Hosea i.-iii. was a companion picture to Ezekiel xxiii," suggested a comparison of these chapters with the later prophetic books where there is a similar representation of the apostasy of Israel and Judah under the figure of harlotry, the purpose of the investigation being to discover to what extent Hos. i.-iii. has parallels in these later books. For the query naturally presents itself, if we have in these three chapters "a companion picture to Ezek. xxiii," and if ch. iii. be late and allegorical, may not ch. i. be allegorical too, ch. ii. the explanation of the allegory, and therefore may not the three chapters be a unit, the work of a later writer, who wrote them as a figurative representation of Hosea's call to preach ? Of this possibility I shall speak later. I now offer the results of the comparative study, beginning with ch. ii. It will be convenient to deal with this chapter in three sections, as follows : I, vv. 1-3 ; II, vv. 4-15 ; III, vv. 16-25.

SECTION I (vv. 1-3).

The lateness of this part has been so generally conceded by recent expositors, that it may be treated here very briefly. The main reasons which have been advanced for regarding it as coming from a time later than Hosea are : (1) Its position : it breaks the connection. The last symbolical word in ch. i. was 'Lo-**ammi**,' which indicated Jehovah's casting off of His people. This same thought is resumed in ch. ii. 4, where He is represented as entering into judgment with His wicked spouse (the land), because of her adulteries. There is thus too quick a tran-

sition from judgment to favour, and then back to judgment again. Such transitions, to be sure, do occur, as for instance in Isaiah's prophecies, but scarcely with such a violent breaking of the connection of thought; and it is moreover to be observed here, that with the exception of the promise contained in this section, the entire picture of chs. i. and ii. is that of judgment, until we come to v. 14 of ch. ii. (2) A reference to Judah (v. 2) by this northern prophet seems at least suspicious here, as the rest of the chapter speaks only of Israel. (3) The exile is presupposed in v. 2. (4) This vision of Israel's future seems beyond Hosea's horizon, as the limits of that horizon are indicated by the prophecies contained in chs. iv.-xiv. (5) This idea of the great increase of Israel is a characteristically late eschatological conception. (6) The poetic form of the section¹ differs from all other parts of the chapter.²

The expectation expressed here, this looking forward to the return from captivity in large numbers of the members of both kingdoms, their renewed intimate relations with Jehovah and their reunion under a Davidic king, was an outstanding feature in the teaching of the later prophets. Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Deutero-Isaiah give frequent expression to this hope of a return and a happy future. The closest parallels to the particular elements of the expectation here emphasized (viz.: [1] the greatness of the numbers of the returning exiles, and [2] their union under a Davidic king), are furnished by the book of Ezekiel chs. xxxiv., xxxvi. and xxxvii. These are the most significant passages: (1) *As to the greatness of the numbers*, Ez. xxxvi. 10-19; 37-38: "And I will multiply men upon you (an address of Jehovah to the mountains of Israel), all the house of Israel even all of it; and the cities shall be inhabited and the waste places shall be builded; and I will multiply upon you man and beast; and they shall increase and be fruitful. . . . I will increase them with men like a flock." Ch. xxxvii. 24-28, especially v. 26: "Moreover I will make a covenant of peace

¹ 'Metrum 6 K,' Sievers p. 167.

² That the section is late is the opinion of Wellhausen, Stade, Cornill, Giesebrecht, Nowack, Marti, Cheyne, Davidson, Harper, et al.

with them, and I will place them and multiply them." *Cf.* Jer. xxx. 18-19; xxxiii. 22; Isa. xlix. 17-23. (2) *As to their union*, Ez. xxxiv. 13-23: "And I will bring them out from the peoples and gather them from the countries, and will bring them into their own land. . . . And I will set up one shepherd over them and he shall feed them, even my servant David." Ch. xxxvii. 21-22: "Behold I will take the children of Israel from among nations. . . . And I will make them one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all." *Cf.* chs. xxviii. 25; xxxvi. 24; Jer. iii. 18; xvi. 14-15; xxiv. 6; xxix. 14; xxxi. 8; l. 4; Isa. xliii. 5-6.

The fact that the book of Ezekiel furnishes several passages of such striking similarity to both the thought and phraseology of these verses of Hosea may be significant, in view of the suggestion that these three chapters present a companion picture to Ezekiel xxiii.; and more especially, because of the facts which the comparative study of the remaining sections of ch. ii. will disclose.

SECTION II (vv. 4-15).

This section is generally thought to contain, for the most part, actual words of Hosea, who is said to give here the exposition of the personal narrative of chs. i. and iii. The moral of that story is the love relation of Jehovah to Israel, and Israel's unfaithfulness to that relation. The writer, whether Hosea or another, here represents Jehovah as addressing the individual Israelites and asking them to enter into judgment with their mother (the land), Jehovah's spouse, for her adulterous conduct towards her husband in forsaking Him for the Baalim.

A comparison of the section with later books of prophecy reveals a number of apparently significant parallels. In the first place, as a comparison of a more general nature, this representation of apostasy, under the figure of a harlot, is frequent in Jeremiah, and especially so in Ezekiel. But together with this general similarity, a study in detail of parts of Ezekiel, (particularly chs. xvi. and xxiii.), presents so many parallels in both thought and phraseology, as to suggest that they are not all

merely accidental. The most important of these can best be indicated by a verse to verse study of the section, which will involve certain textual emendations.

The opening words of Jehovah's address were probably those of v. 4, with the exception of the clause, "For she is not my wife neither am I her husband;" or as Sievers has (for metrical reasons) construed it, "Contend with your mother, contend with my wife, and let her," etc. With this exhortation to the adulteress to "put away her whoredoms from her face and her adulteries from between her breasts," these verses of Ez. xxiii. should be compared:¹ V. 3: "And they (Oholah and Oholibah) played the harlot in Egypt; they played the harlot in their youth; there were their breasts pressed, and there was handled the bosom of their virginity." V. 8: "Neither hath she (Oholah) left her whoredoms since the days of Egypt; for in her youth they lay with her, and they handled the bosom of her virginity; and they poured out their whoredoms upon her." Cf. also vv. 11, 17, 18, 21, 27, 29, 30, 34, 35, 37, 40 and 43. The two figures **וּנְוִיָּה מַפְנִיָּה** and **נֶאֱפֻפִּיָּה מִבֵּין שְׂרָיָה** have given difficulty. But if the similarities of these chapters to Ez. xxiii. are sufficient to establish a relation between them, then the interpretation of these figures is suggested by vv. 26 and 40 of the latter, and is that proposed by Hitzig. The **וּנְוִיָּה** refers to the paint which was used by the harlot on her eyelids (a dark powder called 'stibium,' cf. 2 Ki. ix. 30; Jer. iv. 30) so as to make the eye itself appear large and brilliant, while the **נֶאֱפֻפִּיָּה** refer to the ornaments suspended on the breasts. The figure would then be simply a transferred epithet, and amount to this: *Let her put away these signs of her harlotry.* This seems to be a very satisfactory interpretation of these somewhat difficult phrases, and the probability that the key is thus to be found in a chapter of Ezekiel which presents several other similarities to this part of Hosea, appears to be significant of the date of the latter.

Certain of the elements of the harlot's punishment indicated in v. 5 are closely paralleled by similar representations in Ez.

¹The whole chapter should here be read.

xxiii. and xvi, and especially in ch. xvi. Cf. ch. xxiii. 9, 10, 26, 29. "Wherefore I delivered her (Oholah) into the hand of her lovers. . . . these uncovered her nakedness. . . . they shall also strip thee of thy clothes and take away thy fair jewels. . . . and shall leave thee naked and bare." The reference is to a barbarous practice of publicly exposing the adulteress. In xvi. 35-43 there is a still more detailed description of the punishment of the harlot, Jerusalem. Here, v. 39 is especially noteworthy: "I will also give thee into their hand. . . . and they shall strip thee of thy clothes and take away thy fair jewels; and they shall leave thee naked and bare." The clause, "and set (exhibit) her as in the day of her birth," refers to Israel's low origin, and should be compared with the description of Jerusalem's origin at the beginning of Ez. xvi. The punishment then, indicated by these words, is that she will be restored to this lowly condition. Ez. xvi. 1-22 should be read at this point, and vv. 7-22 particularly noted.

The reference in v. 6 to the fate of the harlot's children is quite in keeping with similar references in Ez. xxiii. 10, 25, 47: "These (the Assyrians) uncovered her (Oholah's) nakedness; they took her sons and her daughters. . . . And I will set my jealousy against thee (Oholibah). . . . they shall take thy sons and thy daughters. . . . And they shall slay their sons and their daughters." The second clause of this verse is probably a gloss. Its absence helps the metre, and v. 7 forms a perfectly natural and close connection with the first clause of the verse. It is not necessary to delete the whole verse (as Volz, Nowack, and Harper). The suffix on **וְהָיָה** (v. 7) requires the retention of a part of it. Furthermore, a reference to the destruction of the harlot's children is quite natural, and has these parallels in Ezekiel.

The closest analogy to the picture in v. 7 of the harlot pursuing her lovers, the Baalim, the supposed authors of her material prosperity, is in Jer. ii. 20-25. The parallels for the antithesis of this idea will be indicated in connection with v. 10.

Vv. 8¹ and 9 have given difficulty to several of the exponents of the view that in this section we are dealing with actual words of Hosea. The particular difficulty is with the last part of v. 9 beginning, "Then shall she say," etc. It is thought that this could not have been said by Hosea, but is rather the opinion of one "who has seen in Israel's later history the facts that would seem to him to prove the statement." It is urged that, although Hosea predicted punishment, the actual condition of the chastised community could scarcely have been so clearly perceived by him as it is here stated. The general idea of Israel's return to Jehovah does not seem to occur in his preaching. It was a later idea. Hence some think² that the closing words of v. 9, at least, must be a late gloss. Others³ regard both verses as late. The latter opinion is supported by the fact that the particular form which the punishment of the harlot here takes (viz. the "hedging up her way with thorns," and "building a wall against her"), has close parallels in two late books—Job and Lamentations. Apart from their use here, these figures appear only in Job iii. 23; xix. 8; Lam. iii. 7, 9; and this seems to be of some significance, in view of the fact just indicated, that the idea of Israel's return is apparently beyond Hosea's horizon. It appears as if a later writer has chosen these characteristically late figures to represent this idea of Jehovah making Israel's way of sin impassable for her, as a preliminary to her return to Him. It would thus seem that these two verses are late. On the other hand, the general idea of punishment here indicated is quite in keeping with the context. And these facts, when taken together, suggest that not only are the verses themselves late, but that the whole section in which they occur may be late. Perhaps an explanation of these three chapters can be suggested, which will account for both these facts, and show these verses, as they

¹ךררך should no doubt be כררך.

²Marti, p. 25, et al.

³Oort, Volz, Nowack, Harper, et al. Because of the irregularity of the metre Sievers also omits them, but remarks that the metre is "vermutlich Siebener," that of the rest of the section being 7 : 3.

now are, to have been thus placed by the original writer. But a full discussion of this must be reserved until the comparative study has been completed.

Ezekiel xvi., which was shown to furnish close parallels to the description of the harlot's punishment in v. 5, also supplies some even more striking analogies to the further elements of that punishment indicated in vv. 10, 11 and 12. In the first place, this idea, in v. 10, of Jehovah being the source of Israel's material blessings, is quite similar to that of Ez. xvi. 6-14, where the prophet, after speaking of Jerusalem's low origin (vv. 3-5), pictures Jehovah's kindness to her. Vv. 13 and 19 should here be compared: "Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver; and thy raiment was of fine linen, and silk and brodered work; thou didst eat fine flour, and honey and oil. . . . My bread also which I gave thee, fine flour, and oil and honey, wherewith I fed thee." The last part of this (10th) verse may be a gloss (viz. **לבעל עשו וזהב**),¹ but even as such, it might well have its origin in Ez. xvi. 17. Again, this reference to Jehovah's gifts, as being bestowed to cover Israel's nakedness (v. 11), is paralleled by Ez. xvi. 8; and with the threat that Jehovah will take back these tokens of his favour (v. 11a), Ez. xvi. 27 may be compared.² And finally, the further element in the harlot's chastisement, the "uncovering of her lewdness in the sight of her lovers" (v. 12) is strikingly similar to Ez. xvi. 37: "Behold I will gather all thy lovers. . . . and will uncover thy nakedness," etc. Cf. v. 39: "They shall strip thee of thy clothes, and take thy fair jewels; and they shall leave thee naked and bare." This 12th verse is treated as a gloss by Harper.³ But the thought is quite appropriate to the context, and the metre is regular—omitting **עתה**.⁴

The next element in the punishment, the causing of "all

¹Marti, p. 25, et al.

חֶקֶן should probably be here translated "allowance."

²Marti, p. 26, elides **לעיני כאהביה**, (also Nowack, *Biblica Hebraica*).

⁴Sievers, *Alttestamentliche Miscellen* 4 und 5, p. 168.

her mirth to cease," etc. (v. 13), is frequently referred to by the later prophets in similar delineations of punishment. These feasts and the mirth which accompanied them were particularly odious to these prophets because of the superstition and corruption connected with their celebration. The most pertinent passages are: Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9; xxv. 10; Ez. xxvi. 13. The last term in this enumeration, מועדים, has given difficulty, and is at least open to suspicion. Sievers omits the whole verse as irregular metrically, while Nowack¹ regards these last words

וְכָל מועֵדָה as an addition. The term, as applied to sacred seasons, seems to be wider in its application than פֶּגֶן, which was limited to a feast celebrated by a pilgrimage. In the priestly legislation, Lev. xxiii. 2, 4, 37, 44, it occurs in connection with the laws concerning religious festivals, as seemingly a kind of general term including all the feasts specified. In itself the term means a sacred season of any kind, and is so used frequently; but as applied to sacred seasons it seems to occur frequently in Ezekiel. The chief passages are: xxxvi. 38; xlv. 24; xlv. 17; xlv. 9-11. Of these xlv. 17 is noteworthy as being the only other passage, along with Isa i. 13-14, in which the word occurs in connection with the other terms which appear here. If then, this section of ch. ii. is Hosean, it seems probable that these words are a later gloss of a generalizing character,² perhaps at first marginal, and afterwards incorporated into the text. If, on the other hand, the entire section is late, they might be quite naturally explained. In this case it may be that either Ez. xlv. 17 or the passage in Isa. suggested this text.

The destruction of the vine and the fig-tree (v. 14), as representing the chief products of the soil, is also mentioned by the later prophets: Jer. v. 7; viii. 13; Joel i. 7 (probably late). But the matter of most significance in this verse is the reference to the "hire" which the harlot receives from her lovers. Instead of אֶתְנָה we should probably read with Wellhausen, Nowack and Marti אֶתְנָן, because אֶתְנָה (supposed to be from תָּנָה

¹Biblica Hebraica—Kittel.

²Marti, p. 26.

'to hire,' a root, however, not known to exist) occurs only here, whereas **אָהַב** is used several times, being from the root **אָהַב**, which is apparently cognate to **אָהַב**. Accepting then the emendation, we find that **אָהַב** occurs four times in Ez. xvi. and elsewhere only in Ho. ix. 1; Dt. xxiii. 19; Is. xxiii. 17-18; and Mi. i. 7. In all these passages it is the harlot's hire. The passages in Ez. are: xvi. 30, 34, 41.

With the last verse of this section, which describes the harlot's attire and attitude toward her lovers, Ez. xvi. and xxiii. again furnish some close parallels. Ch. xvi. 11-13 indicates Jehovah as the donor: "And I decked thee with ornaments, and I put bracelets upon thy hands, and a chain upon thy neck," etc. Vv. 15-19 describe (in a passage very similar to this), her wicked use of these gifts: "But thou didst trust in thy beauty. . . . and pouredst out thy whoredoms upon every one that passed by. . . . And thou didst take of thy garments, and madest for thee high places decked with divers colors, and playedst the harlot upon them. . . . Thou didst also take thy fair jewels of my gold and my silver. . . . and madest for thee images of men, and didst play the harlot with them; and thou tookest thy broidered garments, and coveredst them, and didst set mine oil and mine incense before them. . . . And in all thine abominations thou hast not remembered the days of thy youth," (*cf.* "and forgot me"). Ch. xxiii. 40-41: "Ye have sent for men that came from far. . . . for whom thou didst wash thyself, paint thine eyes, and deck thyself with ornaments, and sit upon a stately bed, with a table prepared before it, whereupon thou didst set mine incense and mine oil."

It thus appears that this section of ch. ii., which portrays the unfaithfulness of the harlot Israel and her punishment therefor, has close analogies, at almost every point in the description, with two chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy which treat of a similar theme. And some of these similarities are so striking as to amount almost to identical statements. A discussion of the probable significance of this I reserve until the complete study of the chapter has been made.

SECTION III (vv. 16-25).

This part is probably a unit and late. Harper retains vv. 18 and 19, but regards 18 as a gloss on 19. The remaining verses he treats under three sections (vv. 16-17; 20-22; 23-25), all late, but each independent of the others, and of the chapter as a whole. Sievers, because of the difference in metre between the first two verses and the rest, finds two independent later insertions (vv. 16-17, whose metre is 'Doppelvierer'; and vv. 18-25 = 'Siebener'). The reasons for regarding the section as late and as a unit, will be given after the comparative study.

A detailed examination of these verses in comparison with the later prophetic books reveals, just as in the case of the two previous sections, a number of interesting and apparently not purely accidental parallels. And here again, the significant thing is that the principal similarities are to be found in the book of Ezekiel, and often in two chapters already frequently referred to. Compare, for example, vv. 16 and 17 with the more elaborate expression of the same thought in Ez. xx. where the prophet rehearses God's dealings with Israel. He led them from the land of Egypt and brought them into the wilderness, vv. 1-17 (*cf.* especially v. 10). This was for purposes of discipline. But Israel was disobedient, and punishment followed (18-26). This lesson is then applied to the present situation—Jehovah's wrath is pronounced against Israel's idolatries (27-39).¹ After the objects of discipline have been secured Israel will be restored to her former estate (40-44). How similar is all this to the representation here! Israel, in order to be disciplined, will be brought into the wilderness on the way back from captivity, and then, when this discipline shall have had its desired effect, Jehovah will "speak comfortably to her" (v. 16), will restore her vineyards, so that what was before (at the time of the exodus, *cf.* Jos. vii.) the "valley of Achor" (troubling), will now be a "door of hope" (v. 17). This idea of giving back to Israel her vineyards has a parallel in Ez. xxviii. 25-26—a similar picture of Israel's restoration.

¹Note especially vv. 34 and 35.

Two or three terms in vv. 16 and 17 call for special mention. The **לִבְנִי** at the beginning is the connecting link with the **לִבְנִי** of v. 11, and also establishes a close connection with the preceding verse: Because the harlot Israel has "gone after her lovers" (v. 15), now Jehovah will "allure"¹ her by promises to renew His intimacy with her (v. 16), thus bringing her back by gentler means than those indicated in vv. 8, 9, 11-15. The **וְעָנָתָהּ** (v. 17) should probably be **וְעָלָתָהּ**² — 'And she shall go up.'

There seems to be no very good reason for regarding v. 18 as a gloss on v. 19; but we should probably adopt Marti's suggestion, based on Lxx. (*καλέσει*), and read **תִּקְרָא** in both cases of the verb, making also these further changes in the text: "And it shall be in that day that she shall invoke her husband (**לְאִישָׁהּ**), and shall no more invoke the Baalim (**לְבַעֲלִים**)."³ This restores the metre, and places the thought quite in harmony with its context. Although there is no precise parallelism in phraseology between vv. 18 and 19 and other books, the thought (viz., that of purging Israel of her idolatry) is not only entirely appropriate to the context, but is also quite similar to Ez. xx. 33-44. This idea of corruption through idolatry is one which occurs very frequently in Ezekiel's prophecies.³

The thought and enumerative style of v. 20 are characteristically late. Ez. xvi. 60-63 furnishes a close parallel to this idea of Jehovah resuming His intimate relations with Israel: "Nevertheless (*i.e.*, notwithstanding Jerusalem's unfaithfulness and the punishment which has been administered—thoughts developed earlier in the chapter, just as here in Hosea), I will remember my covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and I will establish unto thee an everlasting covenant And I will establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt know that

¹**פָּתָהּ** probably means here simply 'to persuade.' It is used in Jer. xx. 7 and Ez. xiv. 9 to indicate Jehovah's influence on the prophets. Or it may mean 'to release from bondage.'

²So Buhl and Marti.

³*Cf.* Ch. vi. 4-6; 9-13; xiv. 1-5; xx. 16, 24, 27-31; xxii. 3, 4; xxiii. 37, 39, 49; xxxvi. 25.

I am Jehovah."¹ With this may be compared Ez. xxxiv. 35 ff. and xxxvii. 26-28, two passages of exactly similar significance, and to which reference was made in connection with Ho. ii. 2. So it appears that this idea of a renewed covenant has its closest parallels in three chapters of Ezekiel which have been shown to contain (especially ch. xvi.), a good deal of material similar to the content of this chapter. More specific similarities to the phraseology under which this general thought is presented will be found in Ez. xxxix. 1-10; Ps. lxxvi. 3; Zech. ix. 10; Ez. xxxiv. 25. Of these Ps. lxxvi. 3 presents the nearest analogy to the somewhat peculiar expression, "break the battle out of the land"; "There (in Zion) he broke the arrows of the bow, the shield, and the sword *and the battle*." This Psalm is thought by some expositors to refer to the deliverance of Judah from Sennacherib (701 B.C.), by others, to celebrate the victories of Judas Maccabaeus. In either case it is late, and a later writer might well have had its language in mind when he wrote this verse.² Ez. xxxiv. 25 is quite like the last clause of this verse.

In vv. 21 and 22 this idea of a renewed intimacy between Jehovah and Israel is strengthened, and brought into harmony with the context, by a resumption of the figure of betrothal and marriage which appears in the first part of the chapter. The suffix in both verses should probably be 3rd sing. fem. ("I will betroth her," etc.), and in the last clause of v. 22 it has been suggested to read וברעת יהוה.³ The term 'betroth' (ארשׁ), apart from its use here, appears only a few times, and always in the Piel or Pual: Ex. xxii. 15; Dt. xxii. 23, 25, 27, 28; xxviii. 30; II. Sam. iii. 14. In each of these cases it is used of betrothal. The derivation of the term is doubtful. Lagarde suggests a connection with the Arabic 'arshun, a *fine* or *price*.⁴ It would then

¹In Hosea the suffix should probably be 3rd sing. fem. in both places.

²The Hiph. of שבת ("cause to cease") has been suggested for אשבור. But the text is supported by the parallel in Ps. lxxvi. 3. מלחמה would then include everything pertaining to battle; and is joined to אשבור by Zeugma.

³Marti, Harper, et al.

⁴Cf. Aram. ארשׁ, one who farms out land, and the Ass. 'mirsu' tribute.

refer to the dowry paid by the bridegroom to the bride's father. In II. Sam. iii. 14, just as here, it is followed by **ב** of the gift and **ל** of the husband. The **ב** would then be 'bêth pretii,' and this would suggest the translation "*with* (not *in*) righteousness, *with* justice," etc. That is to say, the dowry paid by Jehovah is not money, "but righteousness, justice, kindness, and mercy"—terms quite regularly used to define Jehovah's covenant relationship. These terms all appear therefore to be quite in place, although they have given trouble to several expositors. Harper says they are "inapplicable in the strictest sense to the figure of betrothal and present a bizarre arrangement of thought." If the interpretation suggested be correct, they are in the strictest sense applicable to the figure. It is further noteworthy that the prevailing metre of the context requires the retention of the words.¹ But the question naturally arises here, to whom does Jehovah pay the dowry? The answer to this is, to the bride. It appears,² that while there is no doubt that the **מָהַר** was originally simply the purchase money paid to the father or the brothers of the bride in compensation for the loss of her labor, later, as families advanced in dignity and wealth, "it was natural that a portion, if not the whole, should be appropriated to ensure the comfort and security of the bride. A hint of the custom of so diverting a part is given in the complaint of the daughters of Laban, Gen. xxxi. 15. In later times the appropriation of the dowry to the wife became customary; it was conserved as capital; and in the event of the death of the husband or an arbitrary divorce, it furnished a useful provision." Probably then, the later custom is referred to here, and if so the thought is very fine, and quite in harmony with the usual representation of Jehovah's relation to Israel. As her husband He brings to the bride the choicest of gifts, "righteousness, justice, kindness, and mercy." These verses, as thus interpreted, are not only in thorough keeping with their context, but may well have been suggested (if this part of ch. ii. is late), by the same passage in

¹Sievers, *Alttestamentliche Miscellen* 4 und 5, p. 169.

²*Cf.* Article on "Marriage," by Patterson in HDB.

Ezekiel (xvi. 60-63) which was shown to be analogous in thought to v. 20. That they were so suggested seems very probable when the words **וידעת את יהוה** (v. 22) are compared with the last clause of Ez. xvi. 62: **וידעת כי אני יהוה**. The striking similarity here, coupled with the fact that the second person appears irregularly in vv. 21 and 22, and with the further fact that about 40 MSS.¹ add to this clause **וידעת את יהוה** the words **כי אני**, making it identical with the passage in Ezekiel, is surely very significant. If our writer had the Ezekiel passage in his mind it would explain his use of the second person both here and in v. 18.²

But if it be objected to this interpretation of these verses, that Israel has all the time been Jehovah's wife (v. 4), even when He was disciplining her for her waywardness (vv. 5-15), it may be urged that it does not appear to be altogether inappropriate to represent the renewal of His intimacy by employing the figure of a betrothal, as if this were now entered upon for the first time.

The thought (and to some extent the phraseology) of vv. 23-25 has several parallels in other prophetic books. The closest of these are again furnished by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In Ez. xxxvi. 29-30 Jehovah is represented as calling for the grain: "I will call for the grain and multiply it," etc. In ch. xxxiv. 26-28, in a similar context, after establishing the "covenant of peace," He promises to make the land fruitful: "I will make them and the places round about my hill a blessing; and I will cause the shower to come down in its season; and there shall be showers of blessing. And the tree of the field shall yield its fruit, and the earth shall yield its increase."³

These last verses of ch. ii. are regarded as late by a number of expositors.⁴ The main reasons for this view are: (1) They

¹Nowack-Kittel BH.

²The last clause of v. 22 should therefore probably be changed to **וידעה את יהוה**. The suggested **וידעת יהוה** is scarcely appropriate as one of the gifts of the divine **מור**.

³Cf. Jer. xxxi. 10-13; Joel iii. 18; Am. ix. 13; Zech. viii. 12.

⁴Volz, Marti, Harper, et. al.

contemplate the full restoration of Israel to Jehovah's favor; (2) the eschatological phrase **וְהָיָה בְיוֹם הַהוּא** belongs to later times; (3) the verb **עָנָה** is found in this sense only in late passages, e.g. xiv. 9, Ps. lxxv. 6, Ec. x. 19; (4) the materialistic blessings spoken of here are not in keeping with the spirit of the teachings of Amos and Hosea; (5) there is a pre-supposition of the exile in v. 25^a.

It is not necessary to here criticise these arguments for the lateness of vv. 23-25, nor similar considerations which have led several scholars to view all the foregoing part of this section as later than the time of Hosea. I merely present them without comment, to show that if they are sufficient to establish the fact which they are supposed to indicate, then this fact, along with the results of our comparative study, may help to indicate the source of these three chapters. As regards the last three verses of ch. ii., there appears to be no good reason for looking upon them as coming from a different hand from the one which wrote vv. 16-22. The metre is the same,¹ and the thought is quite in keeping with the pictures of restoration in Ezekiel, to which reference has been repeatedly made in the comparative study of the section as a whole. In fact it is a beautiful poetic culmination of the thought of vv. 16-22, in thorough harmony with the context, and setting forth in splendid imagery the time when Jezreel (v. 2), Lo-Ruhamah and Lo-Ammi (v. 3) will acquire a new significance.

I now add the reasons which have been advanced for regarding vv. 16-22 as also late: (1) Vv. 16 and 17 present a different point of view from that taken in v. 11ff; "there the thought is that of *punishment* pure and simple, here it is of *tender-hearted chastisement* with a view to repentance and reformation; there punishment only is in mind, here promises of blessing prevail." (2) The different representation here from that in v. 5; there the land where Israel dwells is to become a barren waste; here Israel is to be driven by Jehovah from its land into the desert. (3) The order of thought in v. 17 is characteristic of later days; Israel's return to Jehovah is here represented as due to His generous bestowal of blessings which awaken gratitude, "but if

¹Sievers, *Alttestamentliche Miscellen* 4 und 5 p. 169.

Hosea ever contemplated a return it must have been as a result of punitive discipline at the hands of Jehovah, blessings coming only after repentance." (4) Late expressions; e.g. "the valley of Achor" is mentioned in Isa. lxx. 10; the figure of allurements in the wilderness has parallels in Ezekiel, (these have been indicated). (5) The different rhythm and strophic structure from those employed in the genuine verses of the context.¹ (6) The idyllic picture in vv. 20-22 of a state of universal peace represents later ideals; the enumerative style of v. 20 is also characteristic of the later literature.

It thus appears, as regards the dates of the different sections of ch. 2, that: (1) the first (vv. 1-3) is regarded by a number of expositors as late; (2) the middle section (vv. 4-15), with the exception of certain glosses, is looked upon by the same scholars as a genuinely Hosean passage; (3) the last part (vv. 16-25) is viewed as late, some (as Marti) maintaining that it is a connected whole, while others (as Harper) think that it is composed of several independent sections, but all late, with the exception perhaps of v. 19.

If, along with these conclusions as to the dates of the different sections, there now be placed a summary of the results of the comparisons that have been made with the later books, some significant facts will appear: (1) It was found in connection with the study of the first section that the expectation of a return from captivity, in large numbers, of the members of the two kingdoms, and their union under a Davidic king, is not only characteristic of the teaching of the later prophets, but that the form in which both elements of this hope are expressed has its nearest analogies in Ez. 34, 36 and 37. (2) Likewise the third section, in both the chief elements of its thought and phraseology, has also its closest parallels in the same book, and partially at least, in the same chapters. This idea of Jehovah bringing Israel into the wilderness to discipline her (v. 16), and then of

¹According to Sievers' treatment there are four distinct sections in ch. 2, three of which he views as interpolations: (1) vv. 1-3, 'Metrum 6 K,' (interpolation); (2) vv. 4-15, 'Metrum 7: 3,' (Hosean); (3) vv. 16-17, 'Metrum Doppelvierer,' (interpolation); (4) vv. 18-25, 'Metrum Siebener,' (interpolation).

restoring her former prosperity (17), and of renewing His intimacy (20-22), as a result of which the land will become exceedingly fruitful (23-25), is closely paralleled by Ez. xx.; xvi. 60-63; xxviii. 25-26; xxxiv. 25ff; xxxvii. 26-28; xxxvi. 29-30. (3) But more significant still is the further fact brought to light by the comparative study, viz. that the middle section, which has generally been regarded as representing actual words of Hosea, is also strikingly similar, in both thought and form, to certain parts of these same chapters. The general delineation of the harlot's conduct and her treatment for it has been shown to be quite like similar portrayals in Ez. xvi. and xxiii. To summarise the chief elements of the picture: the references to the harlot's waywardness (v. 4) may be compared with Ez. xxiii. as a whole, and particularly vv. 3, 8, 11, 18, 30, 37 and 40; the first element in her punishment, that of making a public exhibition of her (vv. 5 and 10), is that of Ez. xxiii. 9, 10, 26, where Oholah and Oholibah receive similar treatment, and of ch. xvi. 35-43 where, under the same figure, Jerusalem is represented as being stripped of her clothing and jewels; the reference to Israel's low origin (v. 5) has a parallel in ch. xvi. 1-25; the fate of her children is that of the children of the adulteresses in ch. xxiii. 10, 25, 47; Jehovah is the source of Israel's blessings (v. 10) and those of Jerusalem ch. xvi. 6-20; He withdraws these gifts from both Israel (v. 11) and Jerusalem ch. xvi. 27; the term אֶתֶן, to indicate the hire which the harlot receives from her lovers (v. 14), is used in a similar connection in Ez. xvi. 31, 34, 41, and only four times elsewhere in the Old Testament; and finally, the picture of the harlot decking herself with her gay attire and jewels, and going after her lovers (v. 15), is quite like that in Ez. xvi. 11-22 and xxiii. 40-41.

Thus, all the sections of this chapter bear such close resemblance to parts of Ezekiel, in both thought and phraseology, as to make these similarities appear more than purely accidental. And moreover, the analogies appear within a very limited range in Ezekiel, in fact within the scope of a very few chapters, which, in their general thought, are quite similar to this.

But the most significant fact of all is, that when sections two and three are treated as a unit, rather than as coming from different dates (a conclusion to which the comparative study points), the result is a narrative very similar to Ez. xvi. in all the elements of the delineation, and, in a general way, in the order in which these occur. For instance Ez. xvi. contains: (a) A description of Jerusalem's low origin, vv. 1-6; with this cf. Ho. ii. 5, "lest I strip her naked and exhibit her as in the day that she was born." (b) A picture of Jehovah's kindness; under His fostering care she attained great beauty of form; He clothed her with the finest garments and most costly jewels, and lavished upon her His best gifts, "fine flour and honey and oil," vv. 7-14. Cf. with Ho. ii. 10, 11, 14, 15. How striking is the similarity of the two pictures! But even more so still in the next element. (c) The portrayal of her gross unfaithfulness, vv. 15-34; she "trusts in her beauty," robes herself in her fine attire, takes her jewels, makes of them "images of men," clothes them with "brodered garments," sets before them "oil and incense," together with the "fine flour and oil and honey wherewith Jehovah fed her," and before these images "plays the harlot." With this compare the verses in Hosea which describe the attitude of the wicked spouse toward her husband, vv. 4, 7, 9, 10 and 15. (d) There next comes, quite naturally, in Ezekiel's description, an account of the harlot's punishment, vv. 35-59; Jehovah gathers her lovers from all quarters, "uncovers her nakedness to them," gives her up to them that they may "strip her of her clothes, take away her fair jewels, stone her with stones, thrust her through with the sword, and leave her naked and bare as in the days of her youth," because she has broken "the covenant with Jehovah." Again, how similar is this to Hosea's description of punishment in vv. 5, 8, 11-15, except that the latter is not so elaborate. (e) And finally, despite all this waywardness and the inevitable punishment, Jehovah will "turn her captivity" and re-establish His covenant, vv. 53-63. And this again is just the picture of Ho. ii. 18-25.

We thus find in a single chapter of Ezekiel, which deals with precisely the same theme, (except that it is Jerusalem, not Israel,

which is described), a development of this theme which agrees precisely, at every point, with the application which is made in Ho. ii. of the story (either historical or allegorical) of Hosea's marriage with Gomer. That is to say, all the elements of Ezekiel's treatment of a similar theme are present in this chapter of Hosea, when it is looked upon, from v. 4 to the end, as a unit. And moreover, not only do the different elements of Ezekiel's narrative appear one after the other in Hosea's, but the wording of the two is quite similar. This can scarcely be entirely accidental, and it now remains to frame such a conception of these introductory chapters as will account for these facts.

III.

If ch. iii. refers to a second marriage of the prophet,¹ thus making Ho. i.-iii. "a companion picture to Ez. xxiii," and if the similarity of Ho. ii. to Ez. xvi. and xxiii. is sufficient to establish a relation between these parts, there might be several explanations of this relationship, but with varying degrees of probability.²

In the first place, on the general principle that the more diffuse is usually an elaboration of the more concise, and not allowing the cogency of the arguments for the lateness of Ho. ii. 1-3; 16-25, it may be urged that Ezekiel's allegory of the two wives in ch. xxiii., together with his picture of Jerusalem's wickedness and Jehovah's treatment of her in ch. xvi., are based upon these chapters of Hosea. In that case, these chapters would be entirely devoid of historical elements. Hosea wrote them as an allegorical introduction to his prophecies. These transactions all took place merely in a vision, this being in his day as well an understood medium of teaching as in the time of Ezekiel. This view would further make it necessary to suppose that the prophet wrote his allegory with distinct reference to Judah as well as to Israel, (for the second wife must refer to Judah), and that his vision of the future was broad enough to include Israel's

¹*Cf.* p. 10ff.

²In these explanations it is assumed that: (1) Ho. ii. 4-25 is a unit; (2) the wife in ch. iii. is not Gomer.

restoration.¹ In support of this explanation it might be urged : (1) that prophets often thus represent themselves as being under command to do things which could not have been done, (e.g. Ez. iv. 2ff.); (2) that the chief emphasis in the whole narrative is on the symbolical names; (3) that the interpretation of the act is attached immediately to the command to perform the act, quite after the fashion of vision or symbol.

While these considerations do indicate that we are here dealing with allegory rather than with history, there are two apparently decisive obstacles in the way of regarding Hosea as the author of such an allegory: (1) What object would a northern prophet have in thus making his prophecies refer to Judah? What pertinence could these Judean references have to the situation in Israel, and what meaning would they convey to the people in that kingdom in Hosea's time? It is not necessary to assume that a prophet of the northern kingdom would at this time make absolutely no reference to Judah. But the manner in which these references are introduced in these three chapters,² as well as in a collection of prophecies (chs. iv.-xiv.) which are directed entirely toward Israel, points to some other origin. (2) If it must be conceded, on subjective grounds, that Hosea was quite as capable as Ezekiel or Jeremiah of painting these glowing pictures of Israel's future, and that his vision, while one of immediate doom for Israel, yet looked beyond this to the golden Messianic age, it must also be pointed out that these so-called "Messianic passages" present a vision of Israel's future which seems to pass beyond Hosea's horizon, as that horizon is indicated by his sermons contained in chs. iv.-xiv. But still more indicative of the lateness of these parts is the fact that they too are, in places, entirely foreign to the context, make a complete break in an otherwise continuous narrative, and nullify the picture of doom. We can scarcely conceive, for example, of Hosea writing an introduction to his prophecies and placing ii. 1-3 where it now stands. These difficulties, therefore, place such an

¹Ch. ii. 1-3; 20-25; iii. 5.

²E.g. ch. i. 7, which decisively breaks the connection, and is entirely foreign to the context.

explanation of the origin of these chapters beyond the range of probability.

A slightly different explanation, but one involving the same general features, would be to regard Hosea as the author of these chapters, and as presenting here a combination of history and allegory. That is to say, in ch. i. he gives an account of an actual domestic experience, in ch. ii. the moral of this story (Jehovah's love relation to Israel and her unfaithfulness thereto), while ch. iii. is an allegory of a second marriage of the prophet, to make his utterances applicable to Judah. And it was the contents of these chapters, partly historical and partly allegorical, which Ezekiel had in mind, when he wrote the allegory of ch. xxiii.

But the objections to the first explanation apply with equal force here; and furthermore, the presumption is that if ch. iii. be allegorical ch. i. is also.

Both of these explanations are therefore quite improbable. They have been suggested simply as efforts to ascertain whether, in view of the close similarity between these chapters and Ez. xvi. and xxiii., any reasonable explanation of this can be found, which will enable us to look upon Ho. i.-iii. as the original from which Ezekiel copied. No such explanation appears to be possible, because Hosea ii. 4-25 contains a section (vv. 16-25) with an outlook upon the future apparently beyond Hosea's time, and yet this chapter has been shown by the comparative study to be a unit. Therefore it must, as a whole, be late, and some other explanation must be sought which will better account for these references to Judah and the Messianic allusions.

Ch. i. appears to be actual history; ch. iii. seems to refer to a second marriage of the prophet, and is apparently late. May it not be then, that (1) a later writer, living probably at the time of the exile, wrote this account of Hosea's domestic experience in ch. i. (or possibly Hosea himself had written it and this writer simply used it; at all events it may represent actual facts)? Then, (2) with Ezekiel's description of Jerusalem (ch. xvi.) in his mind, may he not have made, in ch. ii., his applica-

tion of the prophet's experience to Israel's relation to Jehovah? And further, (3) with Ezekiel's allegory of the two wives also before him (ch. xxiii.), may he not have allegorized Hosea's experience by representing a second marriage of the prophet (ch. iii.), so as to apply his prophecies to a similar situation in Judah, thus writing the three chapters as an introduction to the prophecies which follow? Ho. i.-iii. would then, as a whole, be late, and would be composed of both historical and allegorical elements. When Hosea's threats had been fulfilled in the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.) we may well suppose that his book would become prominent in Judah: that it was known to Isaiah is evident from a comparison of the following passages: Ho. v. 14 and Is. v. 29; the thought of Ho. x. 8 with the refrain of Isaiah's terrible prophecy on the day of judgment (ii. 10-21); the phrases **סַרְרִים, שְׂרִיָּהם** (Is. i. 23 and Ho. ix. 15). What more likely then, than that the book was worked over in what has been called a "kind of Judaistic revision," to make its message applicable to Judah as well as to Israel? And that this revision was as late as the time of the exile appears from: (1) i. 7, which refers apparently to the deliverance from Sennacherib (701), and pre-supposes a considerable lapse of time since that event; (2) ii. 2, 16-25, and iii. 5, all manifest references to the return from captivity. Of course these allusions to the return might have been written before the exile, but their close resemblance to parts of Ezekiel seem to make it a fair inference that they were written by one who had those passages distinctly in mind. If this be the correct explanation, Hosea had a real wife (Gomer) representing Israel, and an allegorical (not named) representing Judah. This view is quite similar, in certain of its elements, to that suggested by Marti, and has much to commend it as a reasonable explanation of the origin of these chapters. It would account for: (1) the seeming historicity of ch. i.; (2) the apparent lateness of ch. iii.; (3) the fact that ch. iii. appears to refer to a second marriage; (4) the references to Judah; (5) the apparent unity of ii. 4-25, and its close resemblance to Ez. xvi.; (6) the Messianic passages in ch. ii.; (7) the general similarity of this allegory to that contained in Ez. xxiii.

But the last objection urged against the previous explanation, viz. that if ch. iii. is allegorical, ch. i. is presumably so too, makes this not so probable as another explanation, which will account equally well, not only for all these characteristics, but also for other features of ch. i., which, apart from any presumption arising from ch. iii., make it appear to be allegorical. And thus these three chapters in Hosea will present an even closer analogy to Ez. xxiii., than the foregoing explanation makes them.

When all the facts elicited from the comparative study are brought together, they seem to indicate that these chapters contain no historical elements. They appear to be rather the production of a late writer in Judah, who, having in mind the parts of Ezekiel that have been indicated, wrote them as a purely allegorical introduction to Hosea's prophecies. In this case, just as before, and for the same reasons, we must think of Hosea as having two wives; but the transactions in both chs. i. and iii. are to be thought of as taking place only in vision and not in reality, quite after the manner of Ezekiel's vision in ch. xxiii. We know from Ezekiel's prophecies that the vision was quite in vogue at this time, and a well understood means of instruction. There is abundant proof that the Oriental mind was peculiarly susceptible to the allegory as a means of communicating moral and spiritual truths. Amongst the Jews there seems to have been a national predilection for this species of imaginative expression. The later prophets often used it rather than the direct method. Isaiah receives his call in a vision in the temple (ch. vi.); Jeremiah has his visions of the almond rod and the boiling cauldron (ch. i.); Ezekiel sees the four cherubim, the four wheels and the divine glory (ch. i.), and is thus called and commissioned as a prophet. All through his ministry he imparts many of his most important lessons through this medium. In fact his book is largely composed of symbolical actions and visions. Some of the former may have been actually performed, but for the most part they were of such a nature as to make it quite certain that they were merely imagined, (*cf.* v. 1ff., xii. 18). "They passed through the prophet's mind. He lived in this ideal sphere; he went through the actions in his phantasy, and they appeared to

him to carry the same effects as if they had been performed."¹ And so too, with the vision, except that it was a mental operation of a higher order. Certain truths possessed the prophet's mind; his mental genius operated upon these, "giving them unity, throwing them into a physical form, and making them stand out before the eye of his phantasy as if presented to him from without." When this vision was afterward written down it probably received a certain literary embellishment. This, then, was the vision as it was used in these later times. And in view of this, what more probable (if there is the connection which appears, between parts of Ezekiel and these chapters) than that some gifted later writer has used Ezekiel's vision of the two harlots as an allegorical model for his account of Hosea's call to prophesy? His motive for doing this would be quite apparent: he wished to write such an introduction to Hosea's prophecies as would make them applicable not only to Israel, but also to Judah, the kingdom in which he was especially interested. It would, moreover, be very natural that his allegory should take this particular form, because in Hosea's own prophecies, as well as in others of the period in which this writer lived, the figure of harlotry is often used to represent Israel's apostasy. Here then, just as in the previous explanation, the application of the first part of the allegory to Israel (ch. ii.), is taken from Ez. xvi. The remaining elements of the narrative are also the same (*i.e.*, Gomer is Israel, the unnamed wife of ch. iii. Judah), except that the whole is allegory.

This explanation commends itself as the most probable from the following considerations: (1) If ch. iii. is allegorical, and as such based upon Ez. xxiii., ch. i. is probably allegorical too. (2) That prophets do often represent themselves as being commanded to do impossible things is apparent from the passages quoted from Ezekiel,² and is characteristic of the symbolical action or vision. Hence, in chs. i. 2 and iii. 1, we have not to suppose that Hosea was actually commanded to do something

¹Davidson, Camb. Bib. Ezek.—*cf.* Intro., pp. 25-30.

²*Cf.* Jer. li; xxvii, 3; Isa. 21.

repulsive to all his moral instincts, nor have we to force the meaning of the expression "wife of whoredoms" (which naturally implies that she *was* a harlot), so as to mean simply that "she had a tendency to harlotry, which afterwards manifested itself." This all took place merely in a vision. (3) The chief emphasis in the narrative of ch. i. certainly *is* upon the symbolical names, again quite like the vision. It has been urged here that no symbolical significance has been found for Gomer. It may be, however, that there is a symbolism for this name which has not yet been discovered. The verb גָּמַר, as used in several of the Psalms, means 'to come to an end,' which may signify the coming destruction, especially if רַב־לֵים means a mass of figs. (4) The interpretation of the act, in both chapters (i. 4ff; iii. 4-5), is attached immediately to the command to perform the act. This, too, is altogether like the vision or symbol. This consideration seems almost decisive against the historicity of ch. i. (5) If we regard the entire narrative of these chapters as a cleverly constructed allegory, we may look upon it as an example of that artistic literary arrangement of which we have another illustration in the book of Isaiah, chs. ii.-iv., where certain oracles of judgment (ii. 5-iv. 1) are enclosed between two Messianic passages (ii. 2-4 and iv. 2-6), thereby affording clear evidence of literary design. This is probably the case here. The author of this allegory gives in ch. i. the first part of the vision. This includes the account of the prophet's first marriage, and of the children born in adultery, with their symbolical names. The last name contains a threat and a prophecy of the captivity of Israel—the darkest picture he could paint. Seeing this, and (quite after the fashion of his time) wishing to relieve the gloom, he interjects the picture of the Messianic age (ii. 1-3), probably having in his mind the passages in Ezekiel to which reference was made in the comparative study.¹ It would not seem inconsistent to him to put such words in the mouth of Hosea, for the writers of this later time saw in the earlier prophets men who looked beyond their own land and time, and so

¹Cf. pp. 15-16.

these earlier prophecies are often expanded and made to contain a more fully developed thought than was really there—thought which belongs rather to the time of the later writer than to that which he describes. Thus this passage (ii. 1-3), which so entirely breaks the connection, and which at least seems to nullify the effect of the picture of doom in which it occurs, if it is not foreign to Hosea's thought altogether, is quite naturally explained. After thus interjecting this passage, he makes, in the second section of ch. ii. (vv. 4-15), a detailed application of the first part of his allegory to the historical situation in Israel as it was in Hosea's time. In doing this he has the first part of Ez. xvi. in his mind. When the portrayal of the punishment of Jehovah's bride receives its darkest tints in vv. 12-14, where we see her bereft of her children, her fine attire, her lovers, and her means of sustenance, the gloom is again relieved by the promise contained in vv. 16-25, this also being based on the last part of Ez. xvi. This second Messianic forecast is brought to an appropriate and highly artistic climax in vv. 23-25, which are painted in colors quite as bright as those before were gloomy—no doubt with this specific purpose. Then follows the second element of the vision (ch. iii.), the prophet's second marriage. Here the fact of the marriage and the bride's infidelity is first stated (vv. 1-3), and then the application is made (v. 4), just as before. Again, in this application, the reference is manifestly to the captivity, and in this case probably specifically to that of Judah. Again too, the darker shades of the picture (vv. 3 and 4) are relieved by a Messianic promise (v. 5), with which the story ends. Thus we have in the piece, judgment reaching its climax in three specific references to captivity, each relieved by a promise of restoration. The brides, moreover, act in precisely the same way (the conduct of the one being somewhat more elaborately delineated than that of the other, as was natural), and they receive exactly the same treatment from their divine husband. This unity of treatment and fine balancing of the parts is an evidence of literary art, and it is not difficult to understand how these chapters assumed their present form, and came to contain

all these artistically arranged parts, if we look upon them as the production of a late writer who had these models before him.

But a difficulty apparently presents itself at this point. The middle section of ch. ii. (vv. 4-15) is so similar to Hosea's own style, as we see that style in the prophecies contained in the rest of the book, as to give this part at least, the appearance of being Hosea's own work. May it not be, however, that this writer was so well acquainted with these prophecies that he here uses imagery borrowed from Ezekiel so effectively as to throw it into Hosea's own style? This is certainly quite plausible, and is illustrated by modern writers of less power than the one who wrote these chapters. He might also, while using Ezekiel in the main, have borrowed some of his imagery, as well as his phraseology, from Hosea. There seem to be indications of this in v. 15, where the references to the harlot "burning her incense to the Baalim" and "forgetting Jehovah" have their closest parallels in this book.¹ Thus, to suppose this writer to have used imagery taken both from Ezekiel and Hosea's own prophecies would explain both the close resemblance of this second chapter to Ez. xvi., and the Hosean style of this middle section. Here the author has so successfully placed himself in Hosea's environment, as to be able, when making the application of the first part of his allegory to Israel, to represent Hosea's own strong, passionate eloquence, and directness of speech. While, on the other hand, when he writes the last section of ch. ii.—the Messianic passage—he lapses again into the usual style of these later descriptions of the restoration. This ability to represent Hosea's own style is only an indication of his power as a writer.

After thus outlining an explanation of the origin of these chapters which appears to account for all their chief characteristics, it becomes necessary to resume the examination of ch. iii. (only two verses of which were dealt with in the earlier discussion), to ascertain how far the contents of this chapter support the suggestion that it refers to Judah.

When this writer makes, in ch. iii., his application of the

¹*Cf.* iv. 13; xi. 2; xiii. 6.

second element of his allegory, the reference (v. 4) is quite plainly to the captivity. The thought of this verse is evidently this: the children of Israel will (like the harlot bride of the prophet, v. 3) be put under discipline until they have acquired a new spirit. Jehovah has purchased them as His bride, but because they have played the harlot, they must undergo the discipline of the captivity. While there they will be "without king, and without prince." They will also be deprived of "sacrifice and pillar," of "ephod and teraphim," things which under ordinary circumstances would belong to their worship, but which they are now denied as a punishment.¹ That the captivity here referred to is specifically that of Judah seems quite clear from the expression, "David their king," in the reference to the return, v. 5. According to the usual interpretation of these chapters, this verse is one of those post-Hosean references to the restoration, added when the period of seclusion was about complete, by one who realized that "Israel's return was the next step in the manifestation of the divine grace." But the verse forms a very natural and appropriate close to the chapter, gives unity of treatment to the two parts of the allegory, and with the explanation suggested, need not be regarded as later than its context. Thus the contents of this chapter, apart from the term "children of Israel," (vv. 1, 4 and 5), instead of being obstacles to the last explanation suggested, themselves also suggest that explanation, for the reference here is quite plainly to the captivity of Judah.

But there seems to be an obstacle to this in the term "children of Israel." Why does this writer so designate the members of the southern kingdom? The difficulty is only a seeming one. In Ez. xxxvii. 15-28 (a passage from which quotation has been made, to show that it was probably basal to parts of this writer's narrative), which describes the symbolical action of the joining of the two sticks to typify the re-union of Judah and Israel under one king, that prophet uses this same term with explicit reference to the inhabitants of Judah. V. 16: "And

¹ Another interpretation is, that this writer looked upon these things as unauthorized and ungodly, the use of which is idolatry (parallel to the adultery of the harlot wife), and therefore the occasion of the captivity.

thou son of man take one stick and write upon it, For Judah and for the *children of Israel* his companions; then take another stick and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim and (for) all the house of Israel his companions." The fact is, after the extinction of the northern kingdom, the name 'Israel' was often applied to Judah, the only remaining part of it.¹ Hence the term might well have been suggested to this writer by Ezekiel's similar use of it, and its employment here is no obstacle to the view that at this point Judah, his own nation, is especially in his mind.

There appears, therefore, on the one hand, a great deal to suggest this last view of the origin of these chapters, and on the other, no real obstacle in the way of accepting it. Its acceptance would afford reasonable explanation of: (1) *The superscription*. This has always given difficulty. Why is the work of a northern prophet dated by the reigns of southern kings? Why, moreover, should Jeroboam alone, of the northern kings, be mentioned, when, if the remaining part of the date be correct, the prophet's career must have been contemporaneous with the reigns of several of Israel's kings? A great variety of opinion exists as to the original form of this superscription and how it came to assume its present form.² Most interpreters regard it as being made up of two parts coming from different times. But if this whole narrative be late, what more natural than that this post-exilic Judean writer, in thus composing a superscription to give the authority, the parentage and period of Hosea, should date the prophet's work by Judean kings? And furthermore, it is not difficult to understand how he might, through either carelessness or inaccurate information as to the period of his prophetic activity, thus inexactly represent him as a contemporary of both Isaiah and Micah,³ prophets in whom he would be especially interested.

(2) *The present order of these chapters*. According to the prevailing interpretation we have the phenomenon of a story told

¹For further evidences of this cf. Ez. xxxix. 22, 23; xliii. 7, 8, 10; xliv. 6, 9, 15; xlv. 17.

²For full discussion cf. Harper, Crit. Com., p. 204, foot-note.

³Cf. Isa. i. 1; Mi. i. 1.

in chs. i. and iii., while its exposition is given in ch. ii. Why the exposition before the story has been completely told? Davidson, one of the ablest exponents of the usual view, admits¹ that "although ch. iii. be appended somewhat loosely, it supplies an essential step in the story, and its contents are drawn into the exposition of ch. ii. 16-25." Besides the difficulties in the way of believing that ch. iii. refers to Gomer, or that it is as early as the time of Hosea, we have this further difficulty of the order of these chapters—if the prevailing view be correct. But if this be an allegory, composed as indicated, this difficulty vanishes, and we have a perfectly natural explanation of the present arrangement. Ch. i. presents one part of the allegory, ch. ii. gives its exposition, while ch. iii. contains both the second part of the allegory and its exposition. Chs. i. and ii. are naturally worked out in much greater detail than ch. iii., because the author recognized that Hosea's prophecies were primarily applicable to Israel. Thus these chapters are in the order, and have the balance of parts natural to the author's design, and we have not to regard the contents of ch. iii. as "drawn into the exposition of ch. ii. 16-25."

(3) *The close resemblance of ch. ii. to Ez. xvi.* The comparative study revealed the fact that the second section of Ho. ii., usually regarded as Hosean, bears the same resemblance to parts of Ez. xvi. as section three, which is thought by many to be late. We have therefore, probably, to look upon these sections as a unit. The last explanation given will account both for their unity and their similarity to Ez. xvi.

(4) *Chapter iii.* This chapter has always been a stumbling-block to those who accept the view that it refers to Gomer. If this woman is Gomer, why is the identification not made so as to avoid any ambiguity, especially when the writer had at hand so simple a device as the article? In what position is she here, and how came she to it? We would scarcely be left to surmise such important elements in the story. A good deal of ingenuity has been displayed to show that the price paid for her was that

¹HDB ii., p. 421.

of a slave, and therefore she had become a slave-concubine of another man. The difficulties in the way of accepting this have been pointed out. Both the language of v. 1, and the nature of the transaction in v. 2, point to a second marriage of the prophet and the dowry which he paid for his bride. The last explanation outlined accounts quite naturally for this, and we are not called upon to tax our imagination, either to supply the missing links in the story, or to read into language an interpretation which it does not itself suggest.

(5) *The supposed later glosses in ch. ii.* Vv. 8 and 9 of this chapter (at least the last part of v. 9) have been thought by a number of interpreters to express the opinion of one who had actually seen Israel's straitened circumstances. When these verses were discussed, the difficulty of regarding 9b. as pre-exilic was indicated, but it was also pointed out that the verses are in complete harmony with their context, and further, that the figures employed to describe the impeding of the harlot's way appear to be taken from two late books.¹ If this entire section is late all these facts are explained.

(6) *The references to Judah, such as i. 7 and iii. 5.* Similar passages are scattered throughout the rest of the book. The principal cases are these: the change of 'Israel' to 'Judah' in v. 10, 12, 13, 14; vi. 4; x. 11b.; xii. 3; vi. 11a., which threatens Judah with judgment; viii. 14, coupling Judah with Israel in transgression; xii. 1b., contrasting Judah's faithfulness with Israel's treachery. If these chapters originated in the way indicated, we can readily understand why this Judean writer, after framing the introduction so as to make Hosea's prophecies refer to Judah, would then work over those prophecies themselves, making the application. Thus these references, not only in the introductory chapters, but throughout the rest of the book as well, are accounted for.

(7) *The Messianic allusions.* Besides those in chs. i.-iii. which have been discussed, there are, xi. 8b.-11 (at least xi. 10, 11) and xiv. 2-9. Each of these passages must be critically ex-

¹*Cf.* p. 19.

amined on its own merits before intelligent judgment can be passed as to its origin. It would of course be presumption to say that Hosea could in no case have been the author. This much however may be said, in general, of all passages referring to Israel's restoration: it seems difficult to reconcile them with Hosea's situation and vision of the future, as these are indicated in chs. 4-14. He plainly represents Israel's ruin as impending. The disaster which he threatens is apparently irretrievable (xiii. 9). These promises, therefore, appear to be inconsistent with Hosea's view, and to "contradict representations which are fundamental in his preaching." In some cases too, they interrupt the logical development of the thought, and show a definite connection with the thought of later prophecy. For example, ch. ii. 1-3 so directly breaks the connection, and so mitigates the picture of gloom, that even such a conservative critic as Professor A. B. Davidson regards it, at least, as late; and ii. 16-25 has a very "definite connection with the thought of later prophecy," in that it resembles closely a part of Ezekiel. For these reasons, recent interpreters of the book are pretty generally agreed that these parts are post-exilic. If this opinion (which has such weighty considerations to support it) be correct, then the last view proposed as to the origin of these chapters will afford a reasonable explanation of the presence of these Messianic passages in both the introduction and the remainder of the book as well. This later writer lived at a time when there was a growing hope, indeed a settled expectation, of the restoration, and in harmony with the thought of his time he inserts these passages in his narrative, thereby ascribing to Hosea (whose call he is describing and whose prophecies he is adapting to his own nation) thoughts which go beyond Hosea's range, and which belong rather to his own time than to the one which he describes.

Thus the theory of the origin of these chapters thought to be the most probable accounts not only for all the characteristic features of the introductory chapters, as the investigation has presented them, but also for two of the most outstanding of these features which occur as well in the collection of prophecies which follow.

IV.

It need scarcely be pointed out, that if this be the true explanation of the origin and nature of these introductory chapters, and of their relation to the remainder of the book, as well as the correct explanation of the Messianic allusions throughout the book, the point of emphasis of the prophet's message to his time appears to be somewhat different from that indicated by the usual interpretation of these chapters. According to this interpretation, as outlined at the beginning, the prophet has, in chs. i-iii., "abstracted from his prophetic speeches and career the essential conception of his teaching," which was the unchangeableness of Jehovah's love despite Israel's waywardness, and has set it as "a kind of programme at the head of his book." In these chapters the prophet shows how this central principle of his teaching was symbolized in his personal experience. As this view thus puts the emphasis upon the divine love, Hosea has been defined as a "mystic" (in contrast with Amos "the stern moralist"), and compared with John. When these introductory chapters are interpreted in this way, it is quite natural to thus find the central conception in this prophet's teaching to be that of the enduring love of Jehovah. One of the leading exponents of this view presents it thus: "Yahweh is God. His nature as revealed in Israel's history is love. It was in love that He redeemed them from Egypt: 'when Israel was a child I loved him,' (xi. 1); and He has an emotional delight in the object of His love (ix. 10). His love has followed Israel all through their history (xi. 3, 4; vii. 15); even his chastisements are not without love—'I will speak to her heart' (ii. 16; iii.); and their restoration and everlasting peace will be due to His love (xiv. 4; ii. 18ff.; cf. xi. 8ff.). It is Israel His spouse whom Yahweh drives out of His house, and it is she whom He again betrothes to Himself forever (ii. 19; xiv.). His prophecy ends with the prediction of the restoration, the holy beauty and eternal endurance of God's people: 'they shall bloom like the lily and cast forth their roots like Lebanon' (xiv. 5). Amos' mind is filled with great general ethical principles, valid eternally, and

enforcing themselves universally whether in heaven or on earth ; Hosea starts from a religious relation of Yahweh and people, historically formed, the mutual, mystical intimacies of which engross his thoughts. Amos speaks of the goodness of Yahweh, Hosea first calls it 'love.' Amos inculcates compassion, 'humanity,' Hosea first finds the right word for this, (אהבה)."¹

This will suffice to show where these interpreters place the main emphasis in Hosea's teaching. It will appear by looking over the references cited in support of this view, that in most cases they are taken either from these introductory chapters and the Messianic allusions they contain, or from other Messianic passages. Let us now turn, therefore, from these chapters (which have been shown to present so many difficulties in the way of ascribing them to Hosea), and from the Messianic sections in general (which are at least questionable), to the parts of chs. iv.-xiv. which are manifestly reflections of Hosea's prophetic ministry as it was actually exercised. This is the only source to which we can look with confidence for the main elements of his teaching. What appears here to be the burden of his message ? How far do these chapters confirm the view just indicated ?

Hosea's prophecies do not appear to contain any doctrine of a believing remnant in the land, such as we have in Isaiah. Apparently he saw in the condition of the people no germ or promise of a future amendment ; and the impending judgment, which he constantly threatens and describes, is not a "sifting process in which the wicked perish and the righteous remain," but the complete wreck of the nation which has wholly turned aside from its God. The people thought by copious sacrifices they could ensure the help of their God against all calamity ; yet while they crowd to their high places and multiply their sacrifices, the nation is on the very brink of internal dissolution. There is "no faithfulness, nor kindness, nor knowledge of God in the land. There is nought but swearing, and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery ; they break out and bloodshed toucheth bloodshed" (iv. 1f.). The root of all this

¹Davidson, HDB.

corruption is total ignorance of Jehovah, whose priests no longer teach His precepts, and whose worship has become contaminated by elements which belong to the service of the Canaanite Baalim. The whole religious constitution of Israel had thus become undermined by corrupting influences. The political condition of the realm was, in the prophet's view, no better. The anarchy which had followed the murder of Zachariah appeared to him to be the national decadence of a realm not founded on divine ordinance. The nation had rejected Jehovah its only helper. And because of this religious, this social and political corruption, the nation's doom is sealed. Punishment must come, and punishment which apparently cannot be averted. And this is the persistent note of the prophecies—insistence upon the people's sin, and its inevitable consequence. Again and again it meets us. Tender elements do appear in the prophet's utterances (and much more frequently than in those of Amos), where denunciation and threatening give place to tender pleading, for the prophet's heart is torn with grief over Israel's lack of love and fidelity towards Jehovah. No doubt what lay at the root of his thought in these outbursts of tender feeling was his conception of Jehovah as a God of love. That this is so appears from his use of the term (never used by Amos) רַחֲמִים, 'leal-love,' 'kindness,' by which, although he apparently does not employ it to describe Jehovah's relation to Israel, he teaches that "love is the basis and the principal factor of religion. Because Jehovah loves Israel, Israel should be true to Him, *i.e.* moral." It is also evident from Hosea's own use of the figure of harlotry to describe Israel's apostasy (iv. 2, 11; v. 3; ix. 1). But these more tender elements of his thought do not form the dominant note of his sermons. Apart from the Messianic passages they are of rare occurrence, and this fact of Jehovah's willingness to forgive and to restore, despite His outraged love, is not given great prominence. Except in ch. vi.—and of course the Messianic sections—it scarcely appears; and to say that the leading thought in the prophet's message to his countrymen is that of love despite waywardness, places the emphasis at the wrong point. And to find, as Nowack does, at the centre of Hosea's conception of God, the

idea of love conquering the power of sin, is to bring into his prophecies a thought which can be read there only by force. What we seem compelled to conclude by the actual facts as they present themselves is, that in the parts of chs. iv.-xiv. which unquestionably contain the actual utterances of Hosea, there appears to be "no assurance of a final triumph of the divine love or of a penitent return of the sinful nation." Scathing denunciation of Israel's sin and folly, and unequivocal threatening of inevitable punishment, rather than assurance of the unchangeableness of the divine love, these form the burden of Hosea's prophecies.

It appears, therefore, that those who place the emphasis at the latter point do so largely because of the view they hold of the nature and origin of the introductory chapters and the Messianic sections; and this view is not in harmony with the genuine contents of chs. iv.-xiv. On the other hand, the conclusions reached regarding these first three chapters, from comparing them with other books, are in closest harmony with the remainder of the book. And in this there is at least an indirect confirmation of the last explanation suggested as to their origin. For if, as Davidson suggests, these chapters have been prepared by the prophet himself as a "kind of introductory programme containing the essential conception of his teaching, which he had abstracted from his prophetic speeches," then we may expect to find in these prophetic speeches that this "essential conception" will receive the chief emphasis. But when an examination of these speeches indicates that the emphasis is elsewhere, it at least raises the question as to whether chs. i.-iii. bear the relation supposed to the remainder of the book. On the other hand, when we look upon them as the production of a later writer who prepared them as an introduction to Hosea's prophecies by using Ez. xvi. and xxiii. as his models, we are not forced to find in them the central principle of Hosea's teaching, but only an allegory which this writer found to be a convenient way of making that prophet's utterances applicable to both kingdoms. In this case the particular point in the allegory may well be the harlotry of the brides, rather than the abiding love of the husband.

Indeed, in Ez. xxiii. and in other places where the apostasy of Judah or Israel is presented through this figure, it is always her gross sin and the inevitable punishment which receives the emphasis. Apart from the Messianic allusions (which seem to be late) this is manifestly the thought of these three chapters, and such being the case, how fitting an introduction they form to a series of prophecies in which just this thought is brought into such great prominence and repeatedly emphasized. And as to the emphasis on the love element which the Messianic parts introduce, we can easily understand that, when we think of these sections as coming from a writer who lived at a time when this thought had become prominent. Hence the explanation suggested establishes a harmony between these chapters and the remainder of the book—a harmony which does not exist according to the prevailing view.

And this does not imply that we entirely exclude the tender element from Hosea's thought (for it is too plainly there to be doubted), nor that the central conception in that thought was Jehovah's love for His wayward people, for this is probably quite true. Unless this had been at the basis of his thought sin had not appeared so heinous a thing to him, for its heinousness lies in the fact that it is an outrage against the divine love. But it *does* imply a shifting of the emphasis as to the burden of the prophet's message to his time, and a denial of the assertion that is sometimes made that the chief element in that message was "love despite waywardness." It was rather, waywardness despite love, and the inevitable punishment. In this respect Amos and Hosea were very much alike; their messages to their time appear to have been essentially the same. But there was, however, apparently this difference between the two men (and in this respect Hosea was more of the mystic and Amos more of the moralist); Hosea looked upon the sin which he so vehemently denounced as resulting from the lack of an inner perception of the real nature and being of God; he therefore lays emphasis upon piety and the necessity of that inner relationship to God which furnishes strength for the right life. Amos, on the other hand, started with the idea of the power of God, and finding sin

the violation of certain precepts more or less external to man, laid the emphasis on the moral in religion. But to find the central thought in Hosea's message to be that of the power of God's love conquering the power of sin is to find something which does not appear there.

This is not an assertion that Hosea was a prophet of doom and nothing more. We do not understand him aright if we maintain that he sees in this judgment, which he so fearlessly portends, the end of all God's dealings with His people. What he seems to imply by his message is, that this judgment which is coming is the necessary self-assertion of Jehovah because of outraged love. And this further implies that this self-assertion was indispensable to the nation's salvation. What God's dealings were to be after this visitation he does not say—even if he understood. But surely what he *did* see and what he *has* said, viz., that the continued existence of his nation was not necessary to salvation, but rather that this depended upon Jehovah, was a most important message to his time, and to all times.



